

OCT 20 1931

The Classical Weekly

Published on Monday, October 1 to May 31, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, Decoration Day). Place of Publication, Barnard College, New York City. In the United States of America, \$2.00 per volume; elsewhere \$2.50. Single numbers, 15 cents each. Address all communications to Charles Knapp, at 1737 Sedgwick Avenue, New York City. Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 28, 1918.

VOLUME XXV, No. 3

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1931

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PIETAS VERSUS VIOLENIA IN THE AENEID

(Concluded from page 13)

The gods in Vergil have a high sense of right and wrong⁷⁵. They are, as Ilioneus reminds Dido (1.543), *memores fandi atque nefandi*. They recognize *pietas* on the part of man⁷⁶ (all except Juno, *quam . . . pietas nec mitigat ulla*⁷⁷). On grounds of *pietas* Anchises asks for aid for the Trojans (2.690-691, 3.265-266), Deiphobus prays for vengeance against the Greeks (6.529-530), and Aeneas prays for a reward for Dido (1.603-605)⁷⁸. The gods themselves possess the attribute of *pietas*⁷⁹. Note the prayers of Priam (2.536)⁸⁰, Aeneas (5.688-689), Dido (4.382)⁸¹. Apollo is *pius* (3.75).

To these venerable deities the Trojans show due veneration⁸². They worship the gods at every stage of their wanderings—on reaching Thrace (3.19-21) and Delos (79), on setting out for Crete (118-120), on reaching the Strophades (222-223), Actium (278-280), Italy (525-529, 543-547), and Sicily (697). Even hostile Juno receives her share: see 3.546-547 (so Helenus had directed, 435-440), 8.84-85 (in accordance with the directions of the Tiber, 60-61), and 12.178-179.

The Trojans offer no empty lip-service to their gods. Like their leader, they obey them even *non sponte sua*. Thus, on recognizing that it is Apollo (9.659-660) who has bidden Ascanius abandon his newly-begun participation in battle (653-656), they withdraw the boy from the fray (661-662) despite his eagerness to fight (652, 661) and their own pride and joy in his prowess (636-637).

⁷⁵To be sure, sometimes their doings seem inscrutable and inexplicable. They slay the most righteous of men (2.426-428), or even visit destruction upon a whole race that does not deserve such a fate (3.1-2). Triton's petty spite toward Misenus can be credited only provisionally (6.173 *si credere dignum est*). Likewise, that of Juno toward Aeneas is questioned as unworthy of any deity (1.11). But in general such things as cannot be understood must be accepted and endured.

⁷⁶They cannot be won by hypocrisy or by a trick (see note 17, above, and 2.402). It is regrettable that they *can* be won by gifts (compare note 42, above). ⁷⁷5.783.

⁷⁸This prayer, uttered before Dido has revealed her impious side, is as little destined to be realized as her own to Jupiter at the banquet (see note 107, below). It is not surprising that Aeneas at this stage thinks of Dido as in the ranks of the *piis*. The use of *piis* in connection with her later (4.517) is far stranger.

⁷⁹See my note, 'The "Piety" of the Gods, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.34.

⁸⁰The appeal of the mother of Euryalus, addressed to *men* (9.493-494), is strikingly similar. She, unlike Dido (see note 81, below), is justified in her appeal to *pietas*, for she is resisting the temptation to anticipate fate by taking her own life. This Dido did not do (4.690 *nec fato merita nec morte peribat*: see note 52, above). Commentators agree that the expression *merita . . . morte* (4.696) is illustrated by Aeneas's words in 2.433-434, *si fata fuissent ut caderem, meruisse manu* (though there *fatum* is superior to *meritum*, not an alternative to it). For Euryalus's mother *fatum* is replaced by *Jupiter*. Note her prayer to him in the verses (9.495-497) which follow the apostrophe to the Rutulians. With 497 contrast the action of the rebel Dido (4.631).

⁸¹Dido has no more right to call upon *pia numina* than to term Aeneas *impious*, especially since but a moment ago (4.379-380) she denied that the gods are concerned with Aeneas's affairs. The inconsistency is due to her complete loss of self-control.

⁸²This habit of pious observance Augustus and the Romans inherit from Aeneas and the Trojans: note in the description of Aeneas's shield the reference to the great celebration after the victory at Actium (8.714-719).

They piously comply with duly-constituted human authority also, notably when, despite the unjust taunts of the Italians and their own longing for battle, they obey their absent leader and remain within the camp (9.44-45)⁸³. To one another, too, as to their chief, they are uniformly loyal. There is the same beautiful friendship between the two common soldiers Nisus and Euryalus as between the leaders Aeneas and Achates; the comrades of Dares are loyal to him in his humiliation (5.468).

In their dealings with other nations, Carthaginians⁸⁴, Sicilians⁸⁵, Latins⁸⁶, Arcadians⁸⁷, the Trojans are scrupulously courteous, fair-minded, and honorable. In the final truce, Aeneas offers generous terms (12.187-194), demanding no sovereignty, and granting voluntarily what Juno is later (819-828) to stipulate (note especially 194 *urbi . . . dabat Lavinia nomen*, and 823-824 *ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos . . . iubeas*). Even toward the repulsive Harpies⁸⁸ they behave peacefully. They fight against them only when they are actually goaded into it; they merely change their position at the Harpies' first attack (3.229-231), and resort to arms *only* (234) when they are assailed the second time (232). They judge other nations by themselves: Hecuba thinks the altar will protect her little group against the onslaught of the Greeks (2.523), and to Ilioneus it is incomprehensible that human beings could be guilty of such sacrilegious inhospitality as the Carthaginians seem to be showing (1.539-541)⁸⁹. The Trojans are trusting and kind-hearted almost to a fault: they pity a Greek, Sinon (2.145-147), and, despite this bitter experience, later pity another Greek, Achaemenides (3.610-611)⁹⁰.

What of other nations? The allies of the Trojans share the Trojan characteristic of *pietas*. Evander, like the Trojan Andromache (3.303-305), is engaged in

⁸³Pandarus and Bitias finally disobey orders and open the gate (6.675-676). For this grievous fault they grievously answer. When Bitias dies, Pandarus, *demens* (728), causes new trouble by shutting the gate inopportune. Though, like Nisus and Euryalus, Pandarus and Bitias show a mutual devotion that is to a large extent a redeeming feature, they, too, are chargeable with *vileness*. The Trojan common soldiers are not the equals of their leaders.

⁸⁴1.527-528.

⁸⁵5.62-63. Acestes, half a Trojan, plays the part of host as courteously as does Aeneas that of guest. Note 5.40-41, and the welcome that Acestes accords to the Trojans who are to be permanent residents in Sicily (757). Dido shows the same sort of hospitality (1.572-574), but this is far from her usual custom.

⁸⁶7.152-155.

⁸⁷Perhaps the Trojans behave a little less scrupulously in their arrival at the Strophades than they usually do on reaching a strange land. Their act in killing the cattle of the Harpies (3.222) falls under the head of plunder. However, they may have thought that the animals were wild, since they were found scattered *nullo custode per herbas* (221).

⁸⁸Notice the gentle courtesy, which may yet contain a subtle rebuke, with which Ilioneus begins his speech (1.522-523). The mention of Iuppiter and of Iustitia may remind Dido that she has thus far outraged Jupiter's laws of hospitality and justice.

⁸⁹Both the similarities and the differences of the scenes are significant. See Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 56.199-200.

a solemn sacrifice⁹¹ when Aeneas reaches his settlement (8.102-104); the Arcadians, like the Trojans⁹², reached this settlement under the guidance of fate and the gods (8.333-336). The Etruscans under Tarchon scrupulously obey the gods in their choice of a foreign leader against Mezentius (8.502-503, 10.153-156). But Latinus, who tries for a while to obey equally unmistakable behests of the gods in his choice of a foreign son-in-law, is forced by Juno's protégés, Amata and Turnus, who represent the camp opposed to Aeneas, to abandon his meritorious attempt.

Now let us consider the conduct of the three great peoples that work counter to Aeneas: the Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Italians.

The Greeks are an impious race. They lay blood-stained hands upon the statue of Minerva (2.163-168). Such sacrilege Aeneas carefully avoids; after the fighting in Troy he entrusts the Penates to his father's keeping (2.717-720). At the sack of Troy, the Greeks plunder and burn the temples of the gods (2.763-764). They are unfeeling, cruel⁹³, false: Sinon is typical of them all⁹⁴. The chosen leaders of the Greeks are the crafty Ulysses⁹⁵, the wild and impious Diomedes⁹⁶, the cruel Achilles⁹⁷, whose son Pyrrhus is still more cruel⁹⁸ and even sacrilegious. The women of the Greeks are worthy of their men: note the references to Helen's *facies invisa* (2.601) and *scelus exitiale* (6.511)⁹⁹, and to Agamemnon's death at the hand of Clytemnestra, *coniugis infandae* (11.267). Even the Greeks of Italy are wicked (3.398)¹⁰⁰.

We turn now to the Carthaginians, Juno's chosen

⁹¹Pallas does not suffer the ceremony to be interrupted (8.110-111), even at the startling sight (109) of the strangers. Danger cannot drive the pious Arcadians to lack of reverence any more than it can drive them to inhospitality. Pallas greets the strangers frankly and fairly, not at all after the manner of Dido's people. Yet the Arcadians are in just as great peril as the Carthaginians were (4.40-43); they, too, are surrounded by enemies, and they are weak (8.472-474).

⁹²Evander accepts Aeneas's statement that the fates had played a part in his coming to Pallanteum (8.131-133), and adds a similar statement on his own account (477). Compare, too, 511-512.

⁹³2.6-8 *Quis... lacrimis* may present the Greeks as the type of the unfeeling, though it may simply mean, 'Our misfortunes are so great that even our enemies must pity them', just as does 11.259 vel Priamo miseranda manus, said by Diomedes.

⁹⁴2.65. Compare 2.44 dolis Danaum, 2.152 dolis instructus et arte Pelasga, and 2.49 timent Danaos et dona ferentis.

⁹⁵To him are applied the expressions *pellax* (2.90), *scelerum... invento* (2.164), *fandi factor* (9.602), and *dirus* (2.762). In 2.44, by the question *Sic nolus Ulivest*, Laocoön rhetorically characterizes this individual as he characterizes the whole race in 2.49.

⁹⁶He is described as *cruentus* in 1.471 (because he slaughters sleeping men), as *impius* in 2.163 (for violating the Palladium), as *demens* in 11.276 (for assaulting the gods and wounding Venus). But this last epithet is applied by himself: he acknowledges that he did wrong, and that he was well punished for it (11.271-277). He likewise pays tribute to Aeneas's *pietas* (11.292), and to the divine origin of his mission (11.232). This is in his later life, when, having reached Italy, he turns over a new leaf, quite as Juno does in the end.

⁹⁷Note Aeneas's description, 2.499-500 furentum caede Neoptolemum, and the accusations made against Neoptolemus by him, 2.662-663, and by Priam, 2.538-539, above all the latter's reproach (2.540-541) that Achilles was not so bad as his son, and Pyrrhus's brutal response thereto (547-549).

⁹⁸In 2.601 she is called *Tyndaridis... Lacaenae*, by Venus (who speaks here as a Trojan), in 6.511, *Lacaeum*, by Deiphobus. Aeneas, too, designates her as *Tyndarida* (2.569). They can not bear to utter her name. So Dido in her passionate tirades (4.416-436, 478-498, 534-552, 590-629) avoids the name of Aeneas, terming him successively *perfidus ille* (421), *hostem... superbum* (424), *eum* and *eo* (479), *viri* (495, 498), *hosti* (549), *hic* (591), *infandum caput* (613).

⁹⁹These are the Greeks of the east coast (3.396-397). I am not sure whether the people on the southwest coast who treat Palinurus so badly (6.358-361) are supposed to be Italians or Greeks (compare note 134, below). Since Vergil thinks of a Euboean Cumae in Aeneas's day (6.2), he may think of a Greek Velia. In any event this cruel race belongs to the ranks of Aeneas's enemies, and so may be conceived of as impious and violent.

people¹⁰¹. Their history, as Vergil pictures it, begins in horrors of sacrilege and murder¹⁰². Seeking refuge with their stolen treasure¹⁰³ in a strange region, they obtain land not in honorable wise, as the Trojans seek to do, but by a contemptible trick (1.367-368). Little wonder that Venus fears *domum... ambiguam Tyrosque bilinguis* (1.661), or that Jupiter protests against Aeneas's sojourn *inimica in gente* (4.235), or that the Tyrians find themselves surrounded by enemies (4.40-43)¹⁰⁴, and must in self-protection shamelessly violate the most elemental law of hospitality (1.539-541)¹⁰⁵. Dido may appear ashamed of such behavior¹⁰⁶, but she excuses it (1.563-564). Even Aeneas would probably have been treated in the usual way had not Jupiter taken pains, through Mercury, to soften the *ferocia corda* of the Poeni (1.302-303). When Dido at the banquet invokes Jupiter as the god of hospitality (1.731)¹⁰⁷, it seems almost as much a mockery as Sinon's perjured oath by sacred fillets he never wore (2.156).

Dido's great sin lies in her violation of her oath to remain true to the memory of Sychaeus (4.15-19, 552)¹⁰⁸. At first, even legal marriage (*vinclo... iugali*, 16, *thalamis taedaeque*, 18) is *culpa* to her. Later, she yields to an illicit union; this guilt she cloaks under a specious name (4.172). Despite her solemn asseveration in 4.24-27, she does the very thing that she vows not to do; to gratify her passion, she blots out *pudor* (55). Then she blames Aeneas for that (4.321-322). She assails Aeneas with false charges¹⁰⁹ of a different sort as well. She pretends (4.320-321) that for his

¹⁰¹Compare 1.12-18. In her journey from Tyre to Carthage, Dido consulted no gods, so far as we know, but Juno gave her and her followers a sign that they had reached their goal (1.443-445).

¹⁰²Pygmalion is *sceleris ante alios immanior omnis* (1.347). The words *furor* (348) and *impius* (349) are justly applied to him.

¹⁰³See 1.363-364. I do not blame Dido for taking from Pygmalion what she doubtless felt was hers; yet I cannot picture *pius Aeneas* as acting similarly. *<Did Dido take with her treasure that rightly belonged to Pygmalion?* I interpret *avari Pygmalionis opes* of the treasure Pygmalion had hoped to gain by murdering Sychaeus. 1.348-364, should be read as a whole. See my notes. C. K. >

¹⁰⁴Even in the sanctity of the temple Dido is *sæpia armis* (1.506). The Carthaginians, judging others by themselves, expect the worst. Dido, seemingly, would not say with Hecuba, *haec atra tuebitur omnis* (2.523). The Trojan queen also judges others by her own people, and therefore expects the best.

¹⁰⁵Compare the behavior of the natives in the southern part of Italy (see note 100, above, 134, below), and contrast the generous hospitality of the Arcadians at Pallanteum, despite their similarly precarious position (see note 91, above).

¹⁰⁶As is suggested, I think, by *vultum demissa*, in 1.561. This is often interpreted as a sign of womanly modesty; but this goddess-like queen, in control of a great people (1.507-508), need not be shy in receiving a little band of suppliants.

¹⁰⁷It is not surprising that the happiness Dido in her ignorance (718) asks of Jupiter is unrealized. There is deep irony—in the sort so dear to the Greek dramatists—in her prayer, 731-734. Jupiter does not make the day happy, and later generations, including the *ullor* who is some day to rise from her bones, remember it only to their sorrow; nor does Bacchus prove himself *laetitiae dator*, or Juno prove herself *bona*. Similar irony is in Anna's assurance, in 4.45-46; Dido's dying words, in 4.657-658, give the true picture.

¹⁰⁸Either she should have kept the vow she made or she should not have made a vow she could not keep. This may seem unduly hard on *infelix* Dido; but in interpreting a Stoic work we must maintain a Stoic attitude. Vergil pities while he blames, but he likewise blames while he pities! It may be said that Dido, who loved Sychaeus so intensely (1.344), could not on losing him conceive that she would ever love another, that any one or anything could *abolerere Sychaeum* (1.720). In that case she violated the doctrine *γνῶθι σεαυτὸν* (as well as that of *μηδέπερ δύασ*). Her defenders may add that she cannot be blamed for a second love, since it was caused by Venus and by Cupid (4.93-95, 412). But, if love comes from the gods, how can Dido swear to renounce it? She cannot be defended both ways. Ignorance and foolishness as well as sin are wrong in a world where gods when they are consulted give oracles, and even when they are not consulted send omens. I

¹⁰⁹For other false charges made against Aeneas and the Trojans compare note 111, below.

sake she incurred hatreds that had really been aroused long before his advent¹¹⁰, and she accuses him of ingratitude for her favors (373-375)¹¹¹, and of perjury (542).

In all this she behaves with the utmost passion and frenzy. The words *furens*¹¹² and *furo* are as much her special property¹¹³ as *violentus* and *violentia* are that of Turnus¹¹⁴. She is as wild as a Bacchante (4.301-303), as mad as Pentheus or Orestes (469-473). Rightly the apparition warns Aeneas against her (563-564), for to Dido the most hideous horrors are thinkable (4.427, 600-602). What right had she to expect Aeneas to remain with her? She knew from the outset that it was the will of heaven that he seek a kingdom and a royal bride elsewhere (2.781-784). Yet, like Juno¹¹⁵, she hopes against hope to be able to trick the fates¹¹⁶. Only when it is too late¹¹⁷ does she recognize their power (4.450), and admit that she had happiness only so long as they permitted it (651); and only when it is too late does she regret her lack of *pietas* (596). Even in her death, she is still a rebel (696-697).

If Aeneas is a Stoic¹¹⁸, Dido is at times an Epicurean¹¹⁹. With scorn she speaks of the prophecies of Apollo and the messages of Jupiter (4.376-380). Her sister and counsellor¹²⁰ Anna, with her materialism, her seeking for pleasure alone, her indifference to the higher things of the spirit, represents Epicureanism of an even lower type (32-344)¹²¹. Such Epicureanism surely, in the eyes of Aeneas and of Vergil when he was writing the Aeneid, is *impietas*.

Finally, are the Italians, too, *impii*? Among the Latin hosts, of course, we must expect flashes of courage and endurance and manhood, since they are to share with Aeneas the ancestry of the Roman race;

¹¹⁰See the preceding paragraph of the text.

¹¹¹Iarbas accuses her of the same thing (4.211-214)! Iarbas, *amens animi* (203), is a worthy suitor for Dido. He, too, makes false charges against Aeneas, who does not deserve to be called *Paris* any more than his followers deserve to be called *semiviri* (215). Iarbas talks here as do Turnus and his adherents (see note 146, below).

¹¹²*Furens* is not always derogatory. It is used of the noble Andromache in her grief (3.313). But in general it implies that complete lack of self-control which is so definitely a defect, a defect characteristic of Dido.

¹¹³She is *furens*, 1.659, 4.283, 298, 465, 548, 5.6; *furianda*, 4.646; *furi incensa*, 376; *accensa furore*, 697 (compare *furiæ*, 474, *furores*, 501); *male sana*, 4.8; *incops animi*, 300; *accensa*, 364. Compare also *sævus*, 300, 532, and *insania*, 595. Aeneas's use of *optima* in 291 may be a wistful bit of retrospective to the days when she was still bearing herself with decorum.

¹¹⁴See note 151, below.

¹¹⁵See note 44, above.

¹¹⁶The fates and the gods, definitely against her, stop Aeneas's ears when Anna repeats to him Dido's appeal (4.449). Dido should have yielded to them as does Aeneas, who, when he asks for their clemency now that Ilium is no more, makes no protest against the destructive *inclémentia* (2.602-603) exhibited by them so long as Ilium endured as an obstacle to them (6.63-65).

¹¹⁷This is true of Turnus also.

¹¹⁸On Aeneas's Stoicism compare the fifth paragraph of this paper.

¹¹⁹Inconsistently (compare note 81, above), in the next breath (4.382) she calls on *pia numina* to avenge her! Nor is it always *pia numina* on whom she calls! Her religion, such as it is, has a blacker side (compare note 7, above), as she realized: note her apology for this (4.493). Nowhere does Aeneas traffic with magic, nowhere does he utter a prayer comparable to Dido's in 4.609-610.

¹²⁰Anna is the worst adviser that Dido could have. There is tragic irony in the fact that Anna, like the nurse in the Hippolytus of Euripides, through seeking her loved one's happiness brings about her deepest unhappiness.

¹²¹Anna is not a thorough-going Epicurean any more than Dido is. She, too, would advocate recourse to the gods—for one's own purposes (4.50). The statement (4.501-502) *nec...graviora timet quam morte Sychaei* implies a certain coarseness in Anna; it shows, too, lack of understanding of her high-strung sister. It is a redeeming feature in Dido's character that she *does* suffer more now *quam morte Sychaei*. Her sorrow at Sychaeus's death was not rendered unbearable by remorse, as her sorrow is now.

but in general, until they accept Aeneas, they are swayed by those who lead them astray.

At the head of his catalogue of their forces Vergil places Mezentius, *contemtor divum*¹²², a fitting leader against the forces of *pietas* (7.647-648). Later, we hear of his inhuman deeds of cruelty (8.481-488), which justify his subjects in rising against him¹²³. Such words as *furens*, *sævus*, *efferus*, *infandus* are applied to him¹²⁴.

The catalogue that begins with Mezentius ends with Camilla. She is a winsome and appealing figure; yet she is not without her share of *violentia*. She comes by it honestly. Her father is a savage¹²⁵, as are many of the Italians¹²⁶, and he had been driven out of his kingdom, as Mezentius had been, *ob invidiam*¹²⁷. Camilla is not to be blamed for her ancestry, any more than Lausus, worthy of a better father (7.653-654), is to be blamed for his; but she is an *aspera virgo* (11.664), cruel and greedy. She taunts her victims (686-688) and refuses to heed their prayers (697-698); she pursues a priest (768-771)¹²⁸, for greed (782); she is *furens* (709, 762), as Dido is¹²⁹. Moreover, in our judgment of both Dido and Camilla we must not forget the general Roman attitude toward the man-like female, above all as typified by Cleopatra—*nefas!*¹³⁰ I fancy that Vergil's ideal of womanhood and of girlhood is better met by the gentle matron Creusa¹³¹ and the modest maiden Lavinia¹³² than by Dido, *dux femina facti*, and the Amazonian¹³³ Camilla.

The Italians in general are open to the charges of cruelty and treachery that lie against the Greeks. They barbarously mutilate Nisus and Euryalus (9.465-472)¹³⁴; they violate the truce with Aeneas (12.242-243). The leaders in this violation are men whose in-

¹²²For his attitude toward the gods see 10.743-744, 773-774.

¹²³Note 8.494 *furiis...instis*, 500-501 *instus...dolor, merita...ira*; compare 10.714 *instas quibus est Mezentius ira*. He himself acknowledges that punishment is his due (10.853).

¹²⁴Note 8.481-482 *superbo imperio, sævis...armis*, 483-484 *infandus caedes, facta tyranni effera*, 570-571 *sæva...funera*.

¹²⁵Note 11.567-568.

¹²⁶See e. g. 7.685-690, 746-749, perhaps 9.612-613.

¹²⁷The phrase is used of Metabus in 11.539, of Mezentius in 10.852.

¹²⁸Even Aeneas himself is guilty of similar misdemeanors (compare notes 4, 5, and 11, above), but only under special stress. The mood seems to be normal with Camilla.

¹²⁹See note 113, above.

¹³⁰8.688. Compare Horace, *Epodes* 9.11-16, *Carmina* 1.37, 1-21; *Propertius* 3.11.29-50.

¹³¹Of those unnamed housewives, models of chastity and industry, described in Georgics 1.293-296 and Aeneid 8.407-413, who spend the night in weaving or spinning. Weaving seems to be an especially favored occupation for women in Vergil's eyes. Very tenderly he touches on the labors performed for their sons by the mother of Euryalus (o.476, 488-489) and the mother of Lausus (10.818). Dido, to be sure, fashions garments (4.263-264, 11.73-75); but Camilla scorns female handiwork (7.805-806).

¹³²In true Victorian fashion she does nothing but blush—most charmingly (12.64-70).

¹³³She is termed *Amazon* (11.648), and is compared to the Amazons Hippolyte and Penthesilea (11.650-663). Compare the picture of the real Amazon, Penthesilea (1.491-492), an ally of the Trojans. There is no condemnation here unless it is in *furens* (for which, however, compare note 112, above), yet I feel that there is in the juxtaposition of *viris...virgo* the same note of disapproval that the existing order of things should be violated: compare *proelia virgo*, said of Camilla, and *dux femina*, said of Dido, and the surprising reversal of the order of nature in 11.721-725, where the maiden is compared to the pursuing hawk, the man to the fleeing dove. The ancients did not approve of Amazons any more than they approved of Cleopatra. By the Greeks Amazons were employed in art precisely as were the giants defying the gods and the Centaurs attacking the Lapiths, to typify the barbarian opponents of the Greeks: see Ernest Arthur Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 242, 495 (London, Macmillan, 1915).

¹³⁴Note, too, the treatment of Palinurus (6.358-361). The natives, *gens crudelis* (359), receive him as the Carthaginians receive the shipwrecked Trojans. These natives may be Italians: see note 100, above.

fluence ought to have been bent in the way of *pietas*—Tolumnius, an augur (12.258–268)¹³⁵, and Messapus, a king and the son of a god (289–293). But *pius* Aeneas, unarmed though he is (311–312), seeks at the risk of his life to prevent his men from sharing the violation of the truce (313–317), and, though he is foully wounded in the attempt (319–323), he keeps to the agreement and seeks Turnus alone (481–483), until finally he is goaded by Messapus's unfair assault into plunging once more into the general fray (496–499)¹³⁶. Nor does he cease to regret this (581–582).

Moreover, the Italians, like the Africans Dido and Iarbas¹³⁷, make unfounded charges of cowardice¹³⁸ and of dishonor¹³⁹ against the Trojans. Yet they have ample opportunity to judge the courage and the magnanimity of the Trojans; they know that not Aeneas but Latinus took the initiative in the matter of the proposed marriage between Aeneas and Lavinia¹⁴⁰, a marriage which, as they are well aware (7.102–106), had been decreed by unmistakable signs sent by the gods¹⁴¹.

In their determination to ignore these signs, Amata and Turnus, the two moving spirits among the rebels, show themselves worthy successors of Dido, worthy protégés of Juno. It may be said that neither they nor Dido can be blamed, that they are under the influence of the Fury (7.343–345, 421–434, 456–459) as Dido is under that of Cupid; but Cupid and Allecto choose as their victims only those whom they know to be fit subjects¹⁴².

In her violence, as in her rebellion, Amata is a second Dido. To her, as to Dido, the words *furo*, *furor*, *furia*, *furibunda* are applied¹⁴³. She, too, acts like a Maenad (7.385–391)¹⁴⁴, has the insolence to call upon the *pii* whose respect she has forfeited (7.401–402)¹⁴⁵, and makes unfounded accusations against Aeneas. In the manner of Juno rebuking and assailing Jupiter, she rebukes and assails Latinus (7.357–372). In all

¹³⁵The Trojans themselves have not an absolutely clean record in this respect, as we are casually reminded by 5.496–497. This is echoed by 12.290, said of Messapus, and by 12.461, said of Tolumnius. But the Pandarus episode had happened before our story begins (Iliad 4.86–126); Vergil keeps it in the background, as he does the misdeeds of Anchises and Laomedon (see note 18, above e). My thesis is, not that the Trojans really were *pii*, but that Vergil regularly represents them as such.

¹³⁶Compare the forbearance shown by the Trojans to the Harpies till they are forced to fight.

¹³⁷See note 111, above. ¹³⁸9.614–620, 12.97–100.

¹³⁹For instance, their report to Diomedes (8.11–12 Aenean... posci) is false. Tolumnius is particularly unfair in his appeal to his fellows to break the truce (12.261–263). The generous terms of peace offered by Aeneas disprove these accusations, which are similar to those made by Juno (see note 43, above).

¹⁴⁰Compare 7.249–258, 268–273.

¹⁴¹The signs are enumerated in 7.64–67, and the interpretation of them is given in 68–70 (compare the signs of 72–77, interpreted in 79–80). The climax is in the oracle of Faunus, 96–101. We may note echoes of this in Latinus's offer to Aeneas, 265–273.

¹⁴²Dido, it is true, had never given evidence of a tendency toward illicit passion. But in other ways she had showed herself not wholly stable or estimable: Jupiter has had good cause to doubt her hospitality, and Venus to doubt her honor. Allecto has no trouble in working upon Turnus and Amata. Amata is already seething with violent emotions when the Fury visits her (7.344–345). Turnus, to be sure, rebuffs Allecto's overtures before he knows who she is (7.435–444) but by the manner of this rebuff he reveals his natural *impetas*.

¹⁴³Compare *furentem*, 7.350; *furibunda*, 348 (also *sine more furil lymphata*, 377); *furorem* (also *nefas*), 386; *furorem* (also *demens*), 12.601 (note, too, *turbant* in 599). She makes the other matrons like herself, *furiis... accensu pectora* (7.392). For similar terms applied to Dido see note 113, above.

¹⁴⁴Compare 4.301, said of Dido.

¹⁴⁵For Dido's corresponding act see note 118, above.

this she is hopelessly unfair, for Aeneas is no Paris¹⁴⁶, and we have no evidence that Latinus had ever promised Lavinia to Turnus, nor do we see how he could have done so in the face of the oracle's command *thalamis neu crede paratis* (7.97); the queen had favored Turnus's suit, but the gods had opposed it (7.56–58). Further, to pretend that the Rutulian prince Turnus, because of the foreign ancestry of his house, satisfies the demands laid down by the gods is manifestly absurd; directly before trying to represent Turnus as a foreigner, Amata, to make an appeal of a different sort, has stressed Turnus's kinship with her own household (note *consanguineo*, 366)! Turnus is no more a foreigner than Pallas, who, as the pious Arcadians and Etruscans have agreed, could not satisfy the demand of the fates for a foreign leader¹⁴⁷. In short, Amata is as inconsistent as Dido and as casuistic as Anna¹⁴⁸. She knows well what the fates are, but, like Juno¹⁴⁹, she thinks she can twist them to suit her own desires. At last, when it is manifest that she cannot succeed in so doing, she takes the final step in defiance of the divine order: she inflicts death upon herself; like Dido she is a rebel in dying as in living¹⁵⁰.

In him whom she seeks after this fashion as her son-in-law, Amata has a kindred spirit¹⁵¹. Even as Aeneas, in almost our first meeting with him, reveals his unselfishness¹⁵², so Turnus, on our first meeting with him, reveals his arrogance¹⁵³, an arrogance shared by his friend¹⁵⁴ Murranus, who dies vaunting his ancestry (12.529–530), and by his brother-in-law¹⁵⁵ Numanus¹⁵⁶,

¹⁴⁶Iarbas, too, thinks Aeneas is a second Paris (4.215: see note 159, below). Compare note 111, above.

¹⁴⁷8.510–511. Turnus has far more Italian blood in him than Pallas has. This blood seems to be a heritage from both his mother Venilia (10.76) and his ancestor Pilumnus (called his *parens*, 9.3–4, his *avus*, 10.76, his *quartus pater*, 10.619). Through one or the other he is related to the royal house of Latinus (see Conington on 7.366). Nettleship (on 12.29) considers only one possibility, relationship between Amata and Venilia; but we cannot be sure that Vergil is following the legend referred to by Heyne in *Excursus 7* to Book 7, according to which Amata and Venilia are sisters. There is ambiguity both in Amata's words (7.365–366) and in Latinus's (12.29–30); neither passage makes clear to which of the royal pair Turnus is related. However, Amata's very strong preference would make it seem probable that it is to her.

¹⁴⁸For the inconsistency of Dido see notes 81 and 119, above; for the casuistry of Anna see note 121, above.

¹⁴⁹See note 44, above.

¹⁵⁰For Vergil's view of suicide, as revealed particularly in his treatment of Dido's act, see notes 52, 80, above. Dido and Amata are not only wilful in thus anticipating the fates, but selfish. Dido takes no thought for the pain that she is inflicting on her sister (4.672–687), or Amata for the pain that she is inflicting on her husband and her daughter (12.605–611). The similarity in the deaths of Dido and Amata is accentuated by certain verbal likenesses in the two accounts: note 4.668 *resonat magnis plangoribus aether* and 12.607 *resonat late plangoribus aedes*, 4.666 *baghatur fama per urbes* and 12.608 *vulgatur fama per urbem*.

¹⁵¹Once more the terms used by Vergil are significant. We hear of Turnus's *violentia*, 11.376, 12.9, 45 (in 11.354 it is alluded to by the injunction of Drances, *ne tec illius violentia vincat*, as Aeneas's *pietas* is referred to indirectly by Venus in 5.783, and of his *violenta... pectora*, 10.151). To Turnus alone Vergil applies the words *violentia* and *violentus*. The latter he uses elsewhere of the wild, unrestrained forces of nature—a wind, Georgics 2.107, Aeneid 6.356, a river, Georgics 4.373. To Turnus are applied *furens*, 9.691, 11.486, 991; *furor*, 9.700 (*caedisque insana cupidio* is added); *furiis*, 12.101. Turnus *saevit* in 7.461; in 9.59–64 he is compared to a ravening wolf who also *saevit* (63) and *fremit* (60). In 12.331–336 he is likened to Mars surrounded by *Formidinis ora*, *Irae*, and *Insidiae* (Mars is *impius* in Georgics 1.511: this Mars *impius* also *saevit*).

¹⁵²See the fifth paragraph of this paper.

¹⁵³His behavior is rendered particularly heinous by Calybe's triple claim to respectful treatment—her age, her sex, and her holy office.

¹⁵⁴See 12.639. ¹⁵⁵See 9.593–594.

¹⁵⁶Also by his arch-enemy Drances, who represents a diametrically opposed section of Italian opinion, but resembles Turnus in the savagery of his attacks upon those to whom he is opposed (see e. g. 11.220).

who taunts the Trojans unfairly¹⁵⁷ (9.595-596, 614-620)¹⁵⁸. Compare Turnus's words in 12.97-100. Both these outbursts, as also that of Iarbas¹⁵⁹, show the contempt felt by a savage race for the refinements of a higher civilization.

We constantly receive fresh proof of Turnus's overweening self-confidence¹⁶⁰, which leads him even to defiance of the fates and of the gods (9.133-138). He, like Dido¹⁶¹, yields to these higher powers only when it is too late (12.676-677).

Turnus's dauntless courage stirs our admiration; his final submission moves our pity. But no extenuation can be offered for his cruelty¹⁶², shown in his taunts of his victims (9.560-561, 12.359-361)¹⁶³, in his treatment of the corpse of Pallas (10.495-497), and, above all, in the wish, after the manner of Pyrrhus¹⁶⁴, that the old father were there to see the death of the young son (10.443). His violence brings about his own undoing: on one occasion he might have scored a decisive victory over the Trojans, but his *furor* and his *caedis...insana cupido* led him astray (9.757-761). His inhuman despoiling of Pallas leads to his own death at Aeneas's hands.

Unfortunate indeed is it for Latinus that he takes such a man as Turnus and such a woman as Amata to be his counsellors¹⁶⁵. Latinus's natural instincts are usually correct¹⁶⁶. After the omen of the flames (7.73-77), he consults oracles and offers sacrifices (81-84, 92-93) quite in the manner of Anchises and Aeneas. When once he knows the fates, he, too, strives to abide by them (7.254-258, 268-273); because of them he offers Lavinia's hand to Aeneas. When he is forced to turn against this son-in-law of his own seeking, his protests, though futile, are none the less heartfelt (7.594-597). Later, too, he points out to his people the wrongness of the war they are waging (11.305), and proposes once more friendship and alliance with the Trojans (320-322). Still later, he repents bitterly of his failure to do what he had wanted to do (11.471-472). Finally, he admits the fairness of Aeneas's

¹⁵⁷Numanus's boasts concerning the simple sturdiness of his own race (9.603-613) seem likewise not altogether accurate, if they are read in the light of the scene of revelry that made possible the foray of Nisus and Euryalus through the Italian lines (9.164-167). Nisus and Euryalus encounter not only laxity but luxury, particularly in the case of the augur-king Rhamnes, Turnus's favorite (325-327). Rhamnes is not a promising specimen of Numanus's *durum a stirpe genus* (603), his *patiens operum parvoque adsueta iuventus* (607). The despised Trojans, even in their joyous celebration of the Greeks' supposed departure, did not behave in any such degraded fashion. They yielded to sleep (2.252-253), but not to wine.

¹⁵⁸I must admit that I delight in Ascanius's answer (9.635), made effective by his arrow. I rejoice too when the supposed Calybe (7.452-455) hurls Turnus's own words (440-444) back at him.

¹⁵⁹4.215-217. To the barbarian the more civilized man seems effeminate. Observe *semiviro* in 4.215, *semiviri Phrygias* in 12.99, *Phrygias* in 9.617.

¹⁶⁰*Fiducia*, 9.126, 10.276. Compare his statement in 10.284: *audentis Fortuna iuvat*. There is something fine about his self-sufficiency, as there is about that of Mezentius, for whom his own hand and his own weapon take the part of a god (see note 122, above); but to Vergil a philosophy that does not acknowledge the supremacy of the gods and the supreme duty of acting in accord with the will of the gods surely savor of *impicias*.

¹⁶¹4.450, 506, 651.

¹⁶²This cruelty is seemingly shared by his whole race (8.146-147).

¹⁶³As his follower Camilla does.

¹⁶⁴See Priam's words, 2.538-539, and Aeneas's, 2.663. Compare note 98, above.

¹⁶⁵Compare Dido's similar misfortune in her counsellor (see note 120, above).

¹⁶⁶As is highly desirable in one whose line is to share with that of Aeneas the glory of producing the Roman race.

conduct and the rightness of his cause (12.27-31). Both perjured and impious was the opposition to the god-given course of Aeneas.

When this course reaches its destined goal, how glorious are the results! A new race is produced that is not only to bring the whole world under the sway of its laws¹⁶⁷, but is to rule with peace¹⁶⁸ and with humanity¹⁶⁹, that is to surpass the gods themselves in *pietas*¹⁷⁰, that is to confine in chains *impious Furor*¹⁷¹, and by so doing complete the conquest of *violentia* by *pietas*.

HUNTER COLLEGE

E. ADELAIDE HAHN

REVIEW

Tibull-Studien. Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik Tibulls und des Corpus Tibullianum. By Dr. Mauriz Schuster. Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A. G. (1930). Pp. V + 203.

Professor Schuster's book, *Tibull-Studien*, is the mature product of a scholar who has spent years in studying with great care every phase of Tibullan problems. Three phases may be traced in the study of Tibullus: (1) that of admiration, which is a direct legacy from antiquity, presenting a view of Tibullus that is accepted by some of the sounder modern scholars, (2) that of criticism, and (3) that of hyper-criticism.

The fact that scholarly opinions about Tibullus vary greatly we may illustrate briefly by quoting a few examples. To Gruppe¹ the poetry of Tibullus was a "Mittelpunkt" of Roman poetry; Leo² considered Tibullus a greater artist than Propertius; Professor K. F. Smith³ saw in Tibullus an artist whose ideal was the art that conceals art. According to Sellar⁴, Tibullus is a faultless and perfectly harmonious poet. With these opinions of scholars who were endowed with a rare understanding of the beauties of Latin poetry may be contrasted some of the opinions of the hyper-critics. To Jacoby⁵ Tibullus is a dilettante of the better type, whose poetry is a hodge-podge of ideas which he took from others and 'contaminated' in a very artless manner. Stranger still is the criticism of Van Wageningen⁶, who regards Tibullus as little short of a moron and calls his poetry the result of a condition of abnormality which causes a rapid sequence of ideas

¹⁵⁷4.231, 6.851. ¹⁵⁸6.852 pacisque imponere morem.

¹⁵⁹6.853 parcere subiectis.

¹⁶⁰12.830.

¹⁶¹1.294 (Vergil is fond of combining these two words: compare 1.348-349, 4.298). Just after 1.294 we find the familiar terms denoting violence, *saeva* (295) and *fremet* (296). Compare also 291 aspera tum positis mitescunt saccula bellis, and the association in 292 of Remus and Romulus, peacefully joined now, since such influence as those of Furor and of the Fury who can *armare in proelia fratres* (7.335) are now past. In other words, the appalling civil wars are over. Compare the impassioned plea for peace made to Caesar and Pompey (6.834-835), just a little before the grand *tu regere imperio* passage. There is a hint of *noblesse oblige* in the special appeal directed to Caesar: the descendant of the gods and of *pious* Aeneas is urged to take the lead in checking the course of violence.

¹⁶²D. F. Gruppe, Die Römische Elegie, 406 (Leipzig, 1838).

¹⁶³F. Leo, Die Römische Literatur des Altertums, 350 (in Die Kultur der Gegenwart, Part 1, Section 8 [Teubner, Leipzig, 1905]).

¹⁶⁴The Elegies of Albius Tibullus, 69 (American Book Company, New York, 1913).

¹⁶⁵The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Horace and the Elegiac Poets, 251 (Oxford, 1899).

¹⁶⁶F. Jacoby, Tibulls Erste Elegie, Rheinisches Museum 64 (1909), 601-632, 65 (1910), 22-87.

¹⁶⁷In Neue Jahrbücher 31 (1914), 350.

to flow in a meaningless order ("Ideenflucht"), a phenomenon indicative of some functional mental aberration. Finally, several other scholars, pre-eminently Witte⁷, tried, in effect, to reduce Tibullus to a poetic arithmetician, whose elegies, they maintain, consist of a series of well calculated symmetrical and numerical correspondences. This group complicates the problem further by offering systems of correspondences which differ widely from one another. There is hardly need to state that such a method of evaluating poetry tends to degrade it and to rob it of the emotional and imaginative elements which constitute its finest attributes.

This short but incomplete sketch shows clearly, I believe, what difficulties face an author who attempts to write a new book on Tibullus. There is no doubt that the wrong direction which Tibullan studies have taken in recent years is due chiefly to the failure of some of the critics to grasp the poet's technique of composition and to appreciate his individuality. Yet two great scholars, Vahlen and Leo, had shown the proper method of approach, i. e. the psychological (in the reviewer's opinion the only proper approach), but, unfortunately, this method was abandoned until Dr. Schuster took it up again (14) and developed its technique to a still higher perfection. He divides his material into four chapters, which I shall discuss separately.

Chapter I, *Zur Frage der Kompositionstechnik Tibulls* (1-61), discusses questions pertaining to Tibullus's technique of composition. It may be subdivided into four sections. The first (1-14) is controversial in character; here Dr. Schuster reviews in general the opinions of his predecessors, subjects them to searching analysis, and refutes them conclusively. Later, however, when the argument requires, he offers additional and particular reasons for rejecting these views. In the second section (14-31) Dr. Schuster discusses Tibullus's technique and analyzes for this purpose several elegies which display all the characteristics of Tibullus's art. Each poem of Tibullus has a central theme from which the poet, it is true, departs, but he finds his way back, without effort, to the main theme, by creating and developing a series of "Einzelbilder" (22, 32) which he combines into an artistic unity. Tibullus thus keeps perfect control over his theme and the situation he has created (28); he never loses sight of the psychological continuity of a poem (24). The poet developed "die Kunst des gleitenden Gedankenganges", an art that reminds one of Pindar (25, 29). Important in this connection is the point made by the author that Vergil in some of the Eclogues and Horace in some of his Odes show familiarity with the type of composition employed by Tibullus (33-34). To Dr. Schuster's characterization of Tibullus as a "poetische Kraftnatur" that gave to thoughts and feelings the artistic expression which the subject demanded (35) I can heartily subscribe.

Since some scholars have maintained that Tibullus

was profoundly influenced by Alexandrian poetry, Dr. Schuster takes up this question (third section, 36-56). He points out that, so far as the technique of composition is concerned, Tibullus and Alexandrian poetry have nothing in common (39), especially since the elegies of Tibullus do not display that exaggerated complication of structure, obscure and erudite allusions, and recondite myths which are all so characteristic of Hellenistic poetry. He seeks to show that the myths woven into the elegies of Tibullus are not obscure, but are rather myths that were commonly known; even in the examples of *anaphora* and *antithesis* which Tibullus so frequently employs as a vehicle for continuing his motifs and thoughts Dr. Schuster fails to discover any influence of Alexandrian poetry (55). While all this seems logical, I cannot help feeling that Dr. Schuster has gone too far. His proof cannot be considered as final, because no real comparison can be made with the Alexandrian erotic elegy, which has been almost entirely lost. In the fourth section (57-61) Dr. Schuster discusses some similarities between Tibullus's technique and that of modern musical compositions.

Chapter II, *Tibulls Poetische Motive und deren Innere Verknüpfung* (65-112), treats all the poetic motifs employed by Tibullus and their inner relationship to one another. Inasmuch as the subjective and the objective elements of these motifs are carefully evaluated, one may call this chapter biographical in character with special emphasis on the individuality of Tibullus, especially since Dr. Schuster tries to discover the dividing line between what is true and what is fictitious. A careful examination of the erotic motifs, for example, leads him to the conclusion (86, 92) that it is impossible to reconstruct the history of Tibullus's passions (as we can in the case of Catullus); in Tibullus the fictitious element is too closely blended with the real element. Some years ago, by a different method, I reached a similar conclusion⁸, pointing out that Tibullus combines, with unusual skill, truth and poetry ('Wahrheit und Dichtung'). I may add that I find Dr. Schuster's treatment of the Marathus elegies (98-106) excellent.

In Chapter III, *Beiträge zur Textkritik des Corpus Tibullianum* (115-179), Dr. Schuster deals with critical and exegetical questions pertaining to the entire Corpus Tibullianum. The chapter is a searching review of two recent editions of Tibullus, the first by F. W. Levy (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927), the other by F. Calonghi (Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum, 1928). Scores of passages are examined: new interpretations are suggested, and alterations of the text are proposed. Compare e. g. the discussions of 1.3.17-18 (127) and 1.6.69-72 (133). I cannot, however, subscribe to Dr. Schuster's interpretation of 3.3.38, *Dives in ignava liridus Orcus aqua*. Dr. Schuster believes that *Dives* is used here in the sense of *Dis* and is to be joined with *Orcus*; *Dives Orcus*, he holds, = *Dis Pater*. Further, he says, *in ignava...aqua* is to be

⁷K. Witte, *Die Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung im Zeitalter des Augustus: Dritter Teil: Die Geschichte der Römischen Elegie. Part I: Tibullus* (Erlangen, 1924).

⁸Prolegomena to an Edition of the *Panegyricus Messalae*, 76 (Columbia University Dissertation, New York, 1925. See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.238-239).

joined with *luridus* (154). This is ingenious, but I do not find it convincing. The defense of *medicande* in 8.6.3, *aufer et ipse meum paterna medicande dolorem*, in place of the usual reading, *medicante* (160-162), is, in my opinion, inadequate because the meaning gained would imply that Liber, too, is love-sick and in need of cure, as is Lygdamus, who appeals to him. The proof offered is not cogent enough, notwithstanding the two passages quoted by Dr. Schuster (162) in the effort to show that in Roman erotic poetry Bacchus figured as a god of love and as a god who healed love-sick people. In other respects, however, the proposed interpretations and alterations of the text, which show an intimate knowledge of paleography, are illuminating and at the same time conservative in character.

In the fourth and last chapter, *Zum Nachleben der Tibullischen Dichtung* (183-201), Dr. Schuster traces the influence of Tibullus upon German poetry. Here he is building upon the foundation laid by F. Wilhelm in his *Satura Viadrina Altera* (Breslau, 1921). The chapter is really a supplement to Wilhelm's work. For the English reader it has little, if any, interest. Originally there was to be included another chapter (Preface, V), dealing with the elements of folklore in Tibullus, with special reference to the festival of the Ambarvalia, but this material the author intends to publish later in some periodical. It is a pity that it was not included in the book under review.

Throughout his book Dr. Schuster shows sound and dispassionate judgment. As a piece of scholarship and as an example of method it will satisfy even the most fastidious reviewer and reader. The present reviewer, at least, read the book with great profit and pleasure.

HUNTER COLLEGE,
NEW YORK CITY

JACOB HAMMER

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

III

Methodist Review—May-June, Saint Augustine, Christendom's Greatest Theologian, Herbert B. Workman.

Modern Language Notes—May, Did Chaucer Know Catullus? J. A. S. McPeek [“since Chaucer mentions him nowhere, and since no passages in his work may be traced beyond peradventure to the *Carmina*, we must conclude that he never knew the great pre-Augustan lyrist”]; A Virgilian Simile in Tasso and Chateaubriand, C. B. Beall [*Aeneid* 12. 103-106].

Nation (New York)—May 27, Small Latin, Less Greek [an editorial commenting on “the decision of Yale University to drop Latin and Greek from the list of subjects required for an undergraduate degree”].

Phi Beta Kappa Key—May, The American Academy in Rome, George D. Hadzsits; Phi Beta Kappa and the Vergilian Bimillennium, O. M. Voorhees.

PikeSpeaker—September 4, The Undying Past, Charles C. Mierow [an estimate of the influence of

Greek and Roman authors upon later ages and particularly upon English literature].

Pittsburgh Record (University of Pittsburgh)—June-July, Hellenic Ideals for the Twentieth Century, Henry S. Scribner [“I believe that a revival of the old Greek spirit in America and of the study of the Greek language and civilization would in time help to bring order out of our educational chaos, and place on a rational and intelligent basis the true meaning of education in all its phases”].

Publications of the Modern Language Association—March, Chaucer and the *Ovide Moralise*—A Further Study, S. B. Meech; Aesop, A Decayed Celebrity: Changing Conception as to Aesop's Personality in English Writers Before Gay, M. E. Smith; June, *Tragedia de los Amores de Eneas y de la Reyna Dido*, J. E. Gillet and E. B. Williams [I. Introduction; II. Dido in Spain; III. The Text; <IV> Notes]; The Perseus Myth in Lope de Vega and Calderon with Some References to Their Sources, H. M. Martin. Review of English Studies—April, S. E. M.—“Translator” of Boethius, W. E. Houghton, Jr.

Revue des Cours et Conférences—March 15, Les Voies Romaines en Gaule, I, Albert Grenier [I. La Théorie des Voies Romaines; II. La Chronologie des Voies Romaines]; March 30, Les Noces de Thetis et de Péleé, Louis Sechan; Les Voies Romaines en Gaule, II: La Toponymie des Voies Romaines, Albert Grenier; May 30, Le Retour des Néréides, Louis Sechan.

Revue Historique—January-February, Les Luttes Primitives d'Athènes et d'Eleusis, Charles Picard; Encore Le Rescrit Impérial sur les Violations de Sépulture, Jérôme Carcopino; Review, favorable, by Jérôme Carcopino, of Anderson, Spiers, and Ashby, The Architecture of Ancient Rome; Review, generally favorable, by Jérôme Carcopino, of Thomas Ashby, The Roman Campagna in Classical Times; Review, generally favorable, by Jérôme Carcopino, of S. B. Platner and Thomas Ashby, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome.

Saturday Review (London)—March 7, Review, very favorable, unsigned, of C. M. Bowra, Tradition and Design in the *Iliad*; March 14, Review, favorable, by Vernon Randall, of E. J. Martin, Twenty-One Medieval Latin Poems; May 9, Review, favorable, by J. C. Hardwick, of Salomon Reinach, *Orpheus* (revised edition); May 16, Review, favorable, by J. C. Hardwick, of J. H. Muirhead, The Platonic Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Philosophy.

Saturday Review of Literature—April 18, Review, favorable, by M. J. Moses, of Rosamond Gilder, *Enter the Actress: The First Women in the Theatre*; Review, unfavorable, by C. A. Robinson, Jr., of L. V. Jacks, *Xenophon, Soldier of Fortune*; May 3, Review, mildly favorable, by A. R. Bellinger, of Emil Ludwig, *Schliemann: The Story of a Gold-Seeker*; July 11, Review, favorable, by Catherine Woodbridge, of Paul L. Anderson, *A Slave of Catiline*; July 18, Review, favorable, anonymous, of T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire*; Review, favorable, by C. H. Taylor, of Ferdinand

Lot, *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages*; August 1, Review, mildly unfavorable, by Paul Shorey, of John J. Chapman, *Plato and Lucian*; August 8, Review, unfavorable in each case, by A. R. Bellinger, of Klaus Mann, *Alexander*, Mirko Jelusich, *Caesar*, Arthur Weigall, *Nero*, and Marcel Brion, *Alaric, The Goth*; Review, favorable, anonymous, of Gisela M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*; August 29, Review, unfavorable, anonymous, of Robert S. Conway, *Makers of Europe*; Review, unfavorable, anonymous, of Dunbar von Kalckreuth, *Three Thousand Years of Rome* (translated by Caroline Frederick); September 12, Review, favorable, by A. R. Bellinger, of Oskar Von Wertheimer, *Cleopatra: A Royal Voluptuary*.

Sewanee Review—July—September, *Vesuvius in Eruption: The Account of an Eye-Witness*, Charles C. Mierow [a retelling of the account given in Pliny, *Epistulae* 6.16, 6.20].

South Atlantic Quarterly—April, *Virgil and the New Morality*, Alice F. Braunlich [“No one who comes under the spell of Virgil's music can fail to be moved by his ideals: so completely at one are his language and his thought.... Virgil has qualities which persuade the reason—particularly his freedom from reliance on compensation beyond the grave and

from all shallow optimism. The clear-eyed fortitude and high courtesy which he extols should make a strong appeal to the modern mind”]; Review, favorable, by R. R. Rosborough, of C. W. E. Miller (editor), *Selections from the Brief Mention of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve*.

Spectator—February 21, *Should the Elgin Marbles be Returned?* [“We would welcome a statement by the British Government to the effect that it would be prepared to hand over the Marbles to the Greek people as soon as Greece is in a position to preserve them safely on the Acropolis”]; May 23, Review, favorable, by C. E. M. Joad, of J. H. Muirhead, *The Platonic Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Philosophy*.

Studies in Philology—April, *The Influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on Spenser's 'Mutabilitie' Cantos*, W. P. Cumming [“Spenser's primary indebtedness in the poem under discussion is to Ovid.... Although passages from various works of Ovid are used in the *Mutabilitie* cantos, it will be seen that Spenser makes especially detailed and characteristic use of two passages in the *Metamorphoses*, the first part of the second book and the discourse of Pythagoras in the fifteenth book”]; Notes on Milton's Classical Mythology, Douglas Bush.

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Is published by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and District of Columbia).

Editors: Managing Editor, Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University; Associate Editors, George Dwight Kellogg, Union College, Walton B. McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, David M. Robinson, The Johns Hopkins University, Evan T. Sage, University of Pittsburgh.

Place of Publication.—Barnard College, New York City.

Time of Publication.—Mondays, from October 1 to May 31, except weeks in which there is a legal or a School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, and Decoration Day).

Terms of Subscription

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 Printed by W. F. Humphrey, 300 Pulteney Street, Geneva, N. Y.